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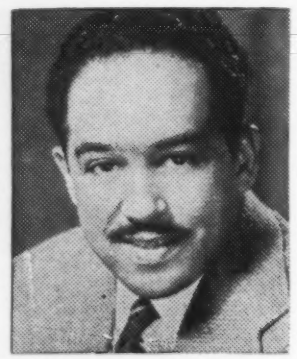

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College and School News

Knoxville College's sixty-eighth commencement was held June 4-7 at which time Dr. William Lloyd Imes was inaugurated as the new president.

Commencement exercises were held at **The Cheyney State Teachers College** on May 23 at which time 38 graduates received degrees.

West Virginia State College graduated its first class of volunteer nurses on May 19. Ten students completed the course. Commencement was held on May 23. The ten-week summer session began on June 7. A course in aeronautics is being given.

Lincoln University (Mo.) commencement was held June 2-7, with Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College delivering the address on June 7.

J. Erroll Miller, assistant professor of government has been reelected to a Harrison Fellowship in political science by the graduate faculty of the U. of Penna., where he has already spent a year on leave, working on his doctorate thesis "The Negro in Pennsylvania Politics".

Dr. W. Sherman Scruggs, president of the university, has been elected president of the Association of Social Science Teachers in Colored Colleges.

Fisk University held its sixty-ninth commencement on May 17, and awarded seventy-three degrees. The address was delivered by Dr. W. W. Charters, Director of the Bureau of Training, War Manpower Commission, Washington, D. C.

Dr. William T. Fontaine of **Southern University** has been awarded a fellowship for 1943–44 by the American Council of Learned Societies. Presently he is studying at the University of Pennsylvania on a Rosenwald Fellowship. He is pursuing an extensive study of the Psychology and Philosophy of Mind.

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Lucinda Barnes, a senior from Baton Rouge, has won a Julius Rosenwald scholarship for advanced study in mathematics at the University of Iowa.

Shaw University held its seventy-eighth commencement on May 31, with Dr. Channing Tobias as the principal speaker. Fifty degrees in courses and two honorary degrees were conferred. Prof. C. F. Pope of Raleigh, N. C., was elected president of the Shaw University Alumni Association.

Fifty men were recently called from the war production training shops at **Florida Normal and Industrial Institute** to take jobs as welders in the Tampa Ship Yards. Sixty graduates of the U. S. Signal Corps were called by the 6th Service Command to report in Illinois.

Florida Normal has been selected as the site for the establishment of a school of commercial education where free courses will be given to train stenographers, file clerks and typists for the government. Courses will be completed in six or nine months.

Tuskegee Institute's Senior R. O. T. C. infantry unit has been rated as excellent by the Fourth Service Command for the 1942–43 academic year.

Commencement exercises were held on May 24. P. B. Young, publisher of the Norfolk **Journal and Guide** was the speaker. One hundred and thirty-four students received B.S. degrees.

As a result of the Gaines decision won by the N. A. A. C. P., the **Agricultural and Industrial State College of Tennessee** has been reorganized to conform to the pattern of the University of Tennessee with administrative and instructional officers of the latter serving in advisory capacity. The college has been organized into six undergraduate divisions corresponding to colleges of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. The divisions and their heads are: Agriculture, Dr. W. S. Davis; Business Administration and Education, Mrs. W. J. Hale; Education, Dean George W. Gore, Jr.; Engineering, Prof. Theodore Gould; Home Economics, Mrs. C. H. Springer; Liberal Arts, Prof. Merl R. Eppse. The salary scale of the Southern Association, at use in the University, will be applied to the instructional staff of the State College. Only two years will be offered in engineering, with scholarships available to students desiring to complete

(*Continued on page 222*)

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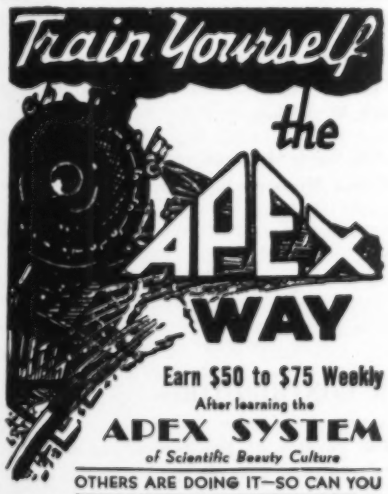

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The Month

War: Negro aviation fighter unit, under command of Lt. Col. B. O. Davis, Jr., first to take part in overseas combat at bombing of Pantelleria.

Pvts. Henry Smith, Jr., Ben W. Pettis, Jessie Harris and Verna C. Neal, cited for bravery by Lt. Col. J. G. Herne, "somewhere in the South Pacific".

Navy destroyer escort vessel to be named for Negro mess attendant Roy Harmon, killed during battle of Guadalcanal in November. Harmon also awarded Navy Cross, posthumously, for extraordinary heroism.

SS Frederick Douglass, third Liberty ship named for a Negro, launched, May 22, by Ann Brown.

Wendall A. Parris, physical education instructor, denied Naval commission because of race.

Labor: Workers, white and Negro, returned to work at Mobile's Alabama Shipbuilding company, May 30, after rioting following upgrading of colored welders.

Mgr. Francis J. Haas appointed new head of FEPC, May 28.

Farm workers, enroute to New Orleans from Jamaica, riot aboard ship over shortage of water, food and adequate sanitary facilities.

Twenty-four carpenters, members of local 2260, Columbia, S. C., denied work in Tampa, Fla., when they arrived and were found to be Negroes.

National War Labor Board outlaws wage differentials based on race.

Strikes staged at Acme Backing Corp., Brooklyn, June 9, and Packard Motor Company, Detroit, June 3, over upgrading of vitally-needed Negro war workers.

Books: Recently published books of especial interest to Negroes include: *Brothers Under the Skin,* Carey McWilliams; *Race: Science and Politics,* (revised) Ruth Benedict; *What America Means to Me,* Pearl Buck; *The Negro's Share;* Richard Sterner; *Patterns of Negro Segregation,* Charles S. Johnson.

Arts: Dean Dixon, young Negro orchestral conductor, in Town Hall concert, New York City, May 28, acclaimed by critics.

Allen (Farina) Hoskins, famed as child star of "Our Gang Comedies", reportedly a soldier in Australia.

MGM, producers of "Cabin in the Sky", plan movie version of "Porgy and Bess".

Church: The Clergy Conference on Negro Welfare, composed of Catholic priests, asks abolition of all discrimination in armed forces.

Report adopted by General Assembly of the Presbyterian church calls for greater degree of racial tolerance.

Bishop J. A. Gregg, following a meeting of representatives of Fraternal Council of Negro Churches with President Roosevelt, chosen to inspect Army camps here and abroad.

Color Line: Mississippi Senator Bilbo pledges one-man filibuster to block anti-poll tax bill if it reaches Senate floor.

Metropolitan Life Insurance company's proposed 35-structure post-war housing unit in New York City will exclude Negro tenants.

Crime: Milton Heiley, 15-year-old Negro boy, slain in race riot in Newark, N. J., June 3.

Beaumont, Texas, rioters in "worst racial trouble Texas has ever seen", June 15-16, burn whole sections of Negro homes and businesses, beat and terrorize Negro citizenry.

Sailors in Los Angeles, Cal., beat and strip Mexican and Negro youths in "zoot suit" riots. Colored boys in and out of such clothes brutally beaten.

International: Liberian President Edwin Barclay, accompanied by President-elect W. V. S. Tubman, official guest of U. S. Government at invitation of President Roosevelt.

Jamaica, British West Indies, plans 1943 census, first in 22 years.

Ethiopian soldiers reportedly training to participate in invasion of Italy.

—Constance H. Curtis

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Vol. 50, No. 7 *Whole Number 391*

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1943

COVER Page

Lt. Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., commanding officer of the 99th pursuit squadron which took part in the recent raid on Pantelleria

EDITORIALS 199

ZOOT RIOTS ARE RACE RIOTS
By Chester B. Himes..... 200

AFRICA: TEST OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER
By L. D. Reddick..... 202

LILY WHITE "WALLED CITY"
By Constance H. Curtis..... 206

FIRST LADIES OF COLORED AMERICA...207--210

ALONG THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLEFRONT
News from the branches and youth councils 211--216

BOOK REVIEW 217

PHILIPPA "TOO GOOD" FOR MUSIC COMPETITION 220

THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y., by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15¢ a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

The August issue will be the thirty-second annual education number, containing pictures, news and statistics on the Negro college graduates of 1943. There will be a new story by Chester B. Himes.

In an early issue Dr. Rayford Logan will have an article on South African Prime Minister Jan Christian Smuts.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. L. D. Reddick, curator of the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library, is a regular contributor to The Crisis. Chester B. Himes, well known to Crisis readers for his stories, writes an eyewitness account of the Los Angeles riots. Constance H. Curtis is a member of The Crisis staff.

Editorials

The Riots

IT was Pearl Buck who wrote in 1941, in a letter to *The New York Times:*

". . . the real point is that our democracy does not allow for the present division between a white ruler race and a subject colored race, and we ought to make up our minds as to what we want and then move to accomplish it. If the United States is to include subject and ruler peoples, then let us be honest about it and change the Constitution and make it plain that Negroes cannot share the privileges of the white people. True, we would then be totalitarian rather than democratic; but if that is what we want, let us say so and let us tell the Negro so. Then the white Americans will be relieved of the necessity of hypocrisy and the colored people will know where they are."

In that paragraph is the root cause of the race riots which swept Los Angeles, Mobile, Beaumont, and Detroit within a period of thirty days. We doubt that Axis agents, as such, planned, organized, and staged the riots. It is more accurate and realistic to say that the rioters followed the Axis line.

The riots occurred because there is in America a belief on the part of great groups of people, in every stratum of social, political, and business life that the Negro must not be permitted to share, as a citizen, on an equality with other citizens, in the privileges, rewards, and responsibilities of American democracy. There are some who believe differently, but although their number has grown, they still constitute an ineffective minority.

This belief is nurtured and buttressed with all manner of material disseminated through every available channel. The result has been a deeply planted conviction that the Negro American is a person apart, that he does not deserve and must not be given the treatment accorded other Americans.

So, when he asserts himself, as he inevitably must (being nothing more or less than an American reared in the American tradition) when he breaks violently through the pattern at the intervals when repression becomes intolerable, we have riots, or, better, pogroms.

These riots would not occur—no matter what the instant provocation—if the vast majority of the population, including more often than not the law enforcement officers and machinery, did not share in varying degrees the belief that Negroes are and must be kept second-class citizens.

A stranger unacquainted with the American scene would be puzzled by a casual reading of the news accounts of the Detroit riot. Three-fourths of the Negroes killed were shot by police. Not a single white person was shot by police. More than 90 per cent of those arrested for rioting were Negroes. Yet all the pictures showed white people chasing, kicking, and beating colored people. There were many graphic and horrible pictures of the riot, but the most meaningful to the theme of this piece was the one showing a Negro being struck in the face by a white rioter as he was being escorted by *two* policemen!

Governor Harry F. Kelly, after calling for federal troops to quiet the giant factory town, announced that the real instigators of the riot would be sought out and brought to justice. Governor Kelly is just talking. Neither he nor the State of Michigan will ever apprehend the real instigators of the shameful and disastrous orgy of June 20-22 when 31 persons (27 Negroes and 4 whites) lost their lives. For the people and institutions that laid the tinder lighted by a fake rape story in Beaumont and a fist fight in Detriot were nowhere near the bloody, tear-gassed streets of the Michigan city during the massacre.

What made the riot possible? What monsters built up the idea that at times it is all right for a hundred men to beat up one? That "killing niggers" is not wrong, but sport? That dragging innocent people from trolleys, buses and private automobiles and beating them to a bloody pulp with bricks, bottles, iron pipes, and clubs is perfectly in order? That burning of a whole district, that "stomping it into the ground" (to quote a description of Beaumont) is not a crime, but a service to humanity? Who plants seed which bring this flowering?

—The daily newspapers, many of which carry holy interracial editorials inside and crucify Negroes in headline and news treatment. (The "black brutes," "fiends," "killers," "rapists," "muggers," "gorillas," etc.)

—The textbooks in our schools where the babes in pigtails and short pants are indoctrinated with the poison that Negroes are shiftless, happy-go-lucky, cotton field workers who have never contributed a single thing to America, but instead brought on a Tragic Era during which some of them held office, took graft, chewed tobacco, and split the English language wide open.

—The industrial magnates who have turned their backs on Negroes seeking jobs above the mop-and-pail level—in Detroit, specifically, General Motors, Chrysler, Packard, Murray, Briggs, Kelsey-Hayes and the rest, all except Ford.

—The public utilities which have held generally that a gas meter reader and electrician, a telephone operator, a trolley motorman or a bus driver had to be white.

—Our commercial houses which shudder at the thought of a Negro clerk, bookkeeper, typist.

—The banks, building and loan associations, and finance companies with their hard-bargain, high-interest-rate black ghettos.

—Our landlords and their cabins and "home-made" bookkeeping in the rural South, and their tenement shacks and zoning restrictions in the North.

—The scholars and publicists with their shoddy statistics, their pseudo-science, their learned lectures, and their published papers.

—The novelists like Margaret Mitchell, fictionizing history as suits their prejudices.

—Our government which not only tolerates the Rankins, Bilbos, Connallys, Starneses, et al (as a democracy should) but bows to them (as no democracy should) on all matters affecting Negroes.

—The fabulous films spreading caricatures and stereotypes calculated to "freeze" a status for Negroes into the minds of scores of millions of people.

—The radio, spreading, like the films, a conception of status.

—The dual school system in the South where children in a common country are separated, not united, and where the blacks get as little as a ninth as much money spent on them as on the whites.

These are the people and institutions behind the riots. They created the atmospheres which made the Detroit mobsters grin with sadistic satisfaction as they wielded their lead pipe bludgeons. Who was to stop them? Not the police, who have always been on the side of the system. Not the powerful rulers of Detroit whose every act has built the system.

There will be investigations, surveys and recommendations. Some specific and palliative corrections may or may not be instituted. But the big, basic problem has been stated by Pearl Buck. Until America decides whether the Negro is to be a full citizen or not, eruptions will take place. For unless told otherwise and unless the democratic theory is completely discarded, the Negro will continue to resent and resist proscription, basing his actions upon the Constitution and the federal laws. The determination of the methods by which all the Negroes shall attain their goal is

(*Continued on page 220*)

Zoot Riots Are Race Riots

By Chester B. Himes

An eye-witness of the recent riots in Los Angeles tells of some of the conditions which led up to the outbreaks

I SUPPOSE you have been reading about the birth of the storm troopers in Los Angeles, the reincarnation, or rather I should say, the *continuation* of the vigilantes, the uniformed Klansmen; and all about the great battle which took place on Main street and points east wherein the combined forces of the United States navy, army, and marine corps, contacted and defeated a handful of youths with darker skins. Yes, we have now defeated the "zoot-suiters"; all we have to do now is to defeat Germany, Italy, and Japan; or rather Japan, Germany, and Italy; since Japan is the most formidable foe and therefore should come first in any listing of our enemies.

Perhaps you don't know what it is all about. If you are a Negro, you should know. But if you are one of those Negroes who profess not to know (and no doubt there are plenty of you), I will be only too happy to inform you.

I understand it was a white manufacturer who designed the zoot-suit and projected it upon an unsuspecting public. However that may be, all honest historians will record the fact that white American youths were first seen wearing them. As with all other aspects of our native culture, Negroes were soon to imitate; and since we, as a people, possess vivid imagination, the true artist's soul, and a penchant for personal adornment, we improved the zoot suit to its present sartorial splendor. When this mania reached the west coast, Mexican youths took it and went.

Pachuo is a Mexican expression which originally meant "bandit" but has degenerated by usage into a description of a juvenile delinquent, a species of youth common in America in all races. In Mexican districts in the county of Los Angeles, small bands of pachuos have organized into gangs to fight each other, to take each others' girl friends, to steal automobile parts and loot fruit stores, or just to have a gang. We Americans should understand this; we are strictly a gang-minded people. However, we are a little more deadly in our gangs; we lynch Negroes, rob banks, kidnap babies, extort merchants, beat strikers, etc.

Negro youths in Los Angeles county are not organized into gangs, nor do they belong to the Mexican pachuo gangs.

Now, only a very small percentage of Mexican youths are pachuos. And all pachuos do not wear zoot-suits. Certainly, all zoot-suit wearers, including many movie stars, are not pachuos.

Blue Prints for Riots

This is the way it began in Los Angeles. Army, navy, and marine corps staffs, seemed to have chosen Los Angeles as the ideal place in which to give white southerners leave. Whether this is intentional or not, only they can say. But we find huge numbers of uniformed southerners in the city. Most of them have no friends and know no girls.

Mexican girls and young women are very pretty on the whole. They are olive-skinned with big black eyes and thick, curly black hair. They have the warm disposition usually attributed to Latins. Like American white girls and women, they are hero worshipers. They might not trample each other to death and turn a city upside down to see a Lindbergh returning from a non-stop flight across the sea, but they have other ways of showing their adoration. They have very expressive eyes.

Now in the beginning, until they learned better, Mexican girls—a few of them, a very few—might have thought that all American white youths in uniform were heroes. A few of them might have flirted.

There is some rare and inexplicable (not only inexplicable but incomprehensible) ego in the average southern white man which makes him believe he can have an affair with any dark-skinned woman anywhere on earth—Los Angeles being no exception. And when these southern whites see these pretty Mexican girls, they become excited—they are not used to girls so pretty.

Adventuresome servicemen go out in the Mexican districts, patronize the bars, roam the streets, trying to pick up these girls or take them away from their boy friends. They actually believe that this is not only a very simple thing to do, but right, for what else could pretty Mexican girls be for other than to satisfy white men?

Maybe a few of the girls do make eyes. Maybe the Mexican boys who are used to pretty girls do not make over them enough. Maybe a uniform looks more impressive than a zoot suit. Maybe the Mexican girls feel in their hearts that white servicemen have as much respect for them as for the "Aryan" girls cut in Beverly. After all, California state law specifically declares that Mexican people are white.

However, Mexican boys do not like the idea of Mexican girls being picked up by white servicemen. Neither do Negro boys like for Negro girls to be picked up by white servicemen. Perhaps because they, the Mexican and Negro boys, cannot go out in Hollywood and pick up white girls.

So, on occasion, a white serviceman in a Mexican bar in a Mexican district, trying to pick up, or having already picked up, a Mexican girl, might have been set upon by pachuos and slapped. We hate to think of what might have happened to a darker-skinned Mexican in a white bar in a white district, trying to pick up, or having already picked up, a white girl.

Pre-Riot Incident

I'll give you an illustration, and this wasn't in a bar. Three drunken white sailors were on a Red car coming from Watts. They were nice looking boys. Evidently they had returned from one of the Pacific skirmishes for they were boasting of how they had whipped the Japs. That is what we are supposed to do, anyway, since we are fighting them; but it seems always to give a white man a wonderful feeling when he whips a Jap.

One of the boys, a blond, was saying in loud, whiskey-thickened voice, "Ah'm tellin' yuh, Ah fought lak a white man! Din Ah fight lak a white man, boy?"

At this point, a couple of Mexican kids, about nineteen or twenty, boarded the car, and seeing the seat vacant across from the three sailors, took it. The Mexican boys were very nice looking, gentlemanly, and possessed of the odd, old-fashioned chivalry found in most Mexicans. But the girl was beautiful; she was on the gorgeous side.

When this blond sailor saw her, he began saying in his loud, whiskey-thickened voice, "Boy, did those native gals go fuh us. Boy, uh white man can git any gal he wants. Can't he, boy, can't he git 'em if he wants 'em?" And then he went on to elaborate how he fought like a white man, trying all the time to get this Mexican girl's eye.

Many of the white people on the car

saw the play and appeared rather disgusted, because this was even too strong for them. But the white boy continued, growing bolder as he went along.

Suddenly, the Mexican youth stood up and said to the girl, "Let's move down front."

Perhaps the girl realized that she had attracted the sailors' attention, and perhaps it flattered her. Anyway, she said, "Oh, why do you want to move? We're going to get off in a few minutes."

The Mexican boy sat down. The white sailors laughed.

But at the next stop, the Mexican boy suddenly jumped up and pulled the cord and dashed from the car, leaving the girl sitting there. She followed at the next stop.

Now, what should the Mexican boy have done? Or what should any Mexican or Negro youth do when walking down the public streets of Los Angeles with his wife or sweetheart to have a group of white servicemen look her over and wink or say, "Boy, Ah ought to change mah luck." Should he go back and hit them in the mouth? The best he could expect from such a procedure, attempted alone, would be a whipping by the gang of servicemen, a whipping by the Los Angeles police, and then a charge in the Los Angeles courts of inciting a riot.

Acme

Sailors and soldiers armed with clubs, pipes and bottles, look for Mexican and Negro youths who may be wearing zoot suits, during the recent riots in Los Angeles

Mexicans are "Strange"

You have no doubt read that white women are accosted, insulted, and molested by pachuos, and that this was primarily the cause of the subsequent riots. Any white woman or girl living in a Mexican neighborhood, or any who have to pass through such a neighborhood day or night, will gladly tell you that Mexican men, both young and old, do not accost, insult, or molest white women. They do not even look at them. They do not desire them. They do not admire them. This attitude of Mexicans is very noticeable, and perhaps a little strange.

I live in City Terrace, which is north of Belvedere, where much of the rioting occurred. Belvedere is inhabited by native whites and Mexican with a sprinkling of Jews overflowing from Boyle's Heights. Coming home, I take the "P" car and come out First street to Rowan, the heart of Belvedere. There I wait for a cab which takes me up the hill into City Terrace for twenty-five cents. I have been on this corner, and other corners in this large Mexican district, at all hours of the day and night. I have seen white women of all ages pass these corners at all hours of day and night. I have never seen one molested or accosted by a Mexican. I have never even seen a Mexican look at one. Pachuos will meddle with passing white men, but if they meddle with passing white women, it is very rare. White women, of course, expect it, and the Mexicans seem to take delight in disappointing them.

However, I can not say the same of a Negro district. Negro youths will crack at anyone of any race who is nice looking. They will say, "A fine queen . . . a reet cheet . . ." They might go further.

But they will never go as far as white men toward Negro women in a white district. A lone Negro woman, if she is young and nice looking, in a white neighborhood, will get a purely commercial proposal from every third unescorted white man or group of white men. When I first came to Los Angeles in the fall of 1941, an unescorted Negro woman could not walk down any part of Central avenue, or Vernon avenue between Central and Main, without having ten, fifteen, or twenty cars pull up to the curb beside her and some leering white man beckoning.

The Mob Rules

So now we have the riots. Your guess is as good as mine on how they began. It is my belief that some Los Angeles policeman or group of policemen suggested to some sailor or group of sailors that they get together and sap up on the zoot suiters. Every one knows that it has been a long and bitter complaint of Los Angeles policemen that they were not allowed to beat up the zoot suiters themselves. So perhaps they got the sailors to do it for them.

This we know: That during the first two nights of the rioting, no policemen were in evidence until the gangs of sailors, out-numbering the pachuos two-three-four to one, had sapped up on the pachuos with belt buckles and knotted ropes. When the sailors departed in their cars, trucks, and taxi-cabs, furnished them no doubt by the nazi-minded citizenry, the police appeared as if they had been waiting around the corner and arrested the Mexican youths who had been knocked out, stunned, or too frightened to run. We know that gangs of servicemen boarded streetcars and glared at women and insulted men at will, with no police in evidence. In fact, during the first three nights, by which time all manner of servicemen had joined the storm troopers, it seemed as if there were no civil officers at all in Los Angeles.

As long as the servicemen were getting the best of the fight, attacking and stripping, beating and molesting, all dark-skinned people who wore zoot-suits or what might have been taken for zoot-suits, regardless of whether they were pachuos, war workers, juveniles, or invalids, everyone seemed happy. The papers of Los Angeles crowed. "It was a gob job," they said. They rooted and

(*Continued on page* 222)

Africa: Test of the Atlantic Charter

by L. D. Reddick

The Allied victories in North Africa have opened the way for a definite move on the part of the United Nations to show that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter are for all men. Only by such means, says the author, can we show that we are fighting for a decent world

CONTRARY to some of the news commentators, when the British Prime Minister spoke before the joint session of the United States Congress on May 19th, he did not say that Africa is now *free*; rather, that Africa is now *freed from "Fascist or Nazi tyranny."*[1] The distinction is of capital importance.

True, the Axis military has been swept out of North Africa and "all of the vast territories from Madagascar to Morocco, from Cairo to Casablanca, from Aden to Dakar, are," as Mr. Churchill put it, "under British, American or French control." Even this advance, however, is a far cry from the freedom of the native people of Africa in terms of their own interests and welfare.

In its simplest form, the conclusion of the "Battle of Africa" presents a crucial test of what the whole war is about. Here in the so-called "dark continent" is the almost perfect stage for a preview of the kind of a peace we may expect when all of the shooting is over and the hostilities on all fronts have ended in "unconditional surrender" of the enemy. What happens in Africa in the immediate future will reveal to the submerged masses everywhere, and to ourselves, whether our stirring declarations have meaning or whether this is just one more indecent war.

All along we were told that the political "muddle" in North Africa—the dealings of the "democracies" with obviously reactionary elements, the general pattern of authoritarian control and the disinclination to discuss even the question of self-government for the inhabitants of the lands—was the result of temporary expedients dictated by military necessity. President Roosevelt himself explained that the military defeat of the Axis forces in North Africa was the pre-condition for any attention to the political questions of the area. Well, now that "Mussolini's African empire and Corporal Hitler's strategy are alike exploded," what about the *people* of Africa? This is the unavoidable responsibility which the United Nations must face.

War and Peace Aims

Up to now the record of the United Nations in Africa has not been too good. On the positive side may be set down the assistance to Haile Selassie in recovering his throne and the partial mobilization of native fighting power in French West and Equatorial Africa, British West Africa and the Belgian Congo. Even this elementary recognition of the rights and abilities of the Africans to defend their homes and families against aggression (while at the same time assisting in the general fight against the enemy) was denied by the Union of South Africa. The threat of invasion caused the South African government at one point to announce that in such an emergency the native Bantu would be armed in order to join in the common defense—a proposition, apparently, simple enough and selfish enough to satisfy any mind, anywhere. But not so in fascist South Africa. For example, the Dutch Reformed Church there went so far as to resolve that:

> "The principle of arming non-Europeans [i. e., non-whites] is contrary to the constitution [of South Africa] and the principles of the Word of God, which is based on racial separateness and the principle of trusteeship on the part of Europeans as against non-Europeans . . . . The policy of Christian Governments of the Union, when involved in war, has always been to use the services of natives and coloureds in subordinate and menial capacities . . . . The Church urgently asks the Government not to give any native or coloured person control of a fire-arm or of light or heavy artillery, and to make an early statement in this connection."[2] Could Hitler say more?

On the negative side, the most glaring failure of the United Nations has been their refusal to specify objectives for the African people along with those for others elsewhere. In their 136 page, closely printed statement "War and Peace Aims," which covers all manner of problems, (1) there is no section on Africa, though there is a section on "The Future of Enemy States"; (2) there is not a single quotation from Emperor Selassie of Ethiopia or President Lescot of Haiti, whose countries are members of the United Nations, though there are numerous extracts from the speeches of the exiled governments of tiny European kingdoms, many of which are literally non-existent at the present time, viz., Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg; (3) of the four pages given over to the colonial problem, there is no presentation of the view of the colonials themselves. Thus, the documents of the United Nations make it clear that the spokesmen for these governments, with rare exceptions, are thinking about the people of Europe and to a lesser degree of Asia, but not at all about the people of Africa.[3]

Bases for African Peace

Despite this criminal negligence, there are two fundamental declarations which furnish the basis for demanding that the United Nations establish a real peace in Africa now. These are (1) the Atlantic Charter, which has been adopted as a United Nations Charter; and (2) the Four Freedoms. Of the eight points of the Charter, the second, third and fifth are particularly pertinent to the "African problem":

II "No territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

III "The right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live."

IV "The fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic adjustment and social security."

The same thought is embodied in the stirring words of President Roosevelt which have been acclaimed all over the world:

"In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which translated into world terms, means economic understanding which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to

[1] *Footnotes on page 218.*

such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millenium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called "new Order" of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.[4]

Over against this universal stand are those who deny that the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter should apply to Africa and a few others who deny that these principles should apply at all, anywhere. For example, Mr. Winston Churchill has insisted that "At the Atlantic [Charter] meeting we had in mind, primarily, the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government, and national life of the States and nations of *Europe* now under the Nazi yoke . . ."[5] Further, that he did not become Prime Minister to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire and that Britain intends to hold her own—meaning, of course, her colonial possessions.

Even more extreme than the reactionary views of the British Prime Minister are the statements of certain American leaders. Thus, Senator Robert A. Taft, outstanding Republican leader, has declared: "I do not believe that we went to war to establish the Four Freedoms or any other freedoms throughout the world, and I do not believe we went to war for all the purposes stated in the Atlantic Charter."[6]

Churchill, happily, is not the only voice in England nor are Taft and his ideological kinsmen the only voices over here. The British Labor Party has issued a charter for the colonies which flatly contradicts the Churchill position.

On January 23 the President said: "The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic but to the whole world."

Mr. Sumner Welles, who has made several of the great speeches of the war, reaffirmed this view when he said "Our Victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended."[7]

In his commencement address at North Carolina College for Negroes, Mr. Welles extended his remarks to say that "to equality of human rights, and to equality of opportunity, every human being is by divine right entitled."[8] Along the same line is the main argument of Mr. Wendell Wilkie's *One World*. President Robert M. Hutchins of the Univrsity of Chicago has stated the democratic imperatives of a durable peace.[9]

It was against the volume of such prodemocratic, one-world sentiment that Colonel Oliver Stanley, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies railed: "I am more interested," he said, "in what Britain thinks of the British Empire than what the United States thinks of it."[10] For such arrogant isolationism, Arthur Creech Jones, Labor member of the British Parliament, immediately took Colonel Stanley to task.

Peace Planners

The same habit of "by-passing" the African people seems to be characteristic of the welter of peace and post-war plans now flooding the country—and the flood is tremendous. Not only are serious scholars, the heads of governments, parliamentary and congressional committees blue-printing the future, but the amateurs and cranks include professional "Gideon Planish" uplifters, contract bridge experts and at least one Southern manufacturer of intoxicating liquors. *The New York Times* of April 20th carried the column lead: "D A R Urges Peace with 'Free Hands' ".

This wide interest in peace planning, obviously, stems from the great and universal yearning of the masses of the people to be rid of the curse of war. Eternally, we all dream of permanent peace. Also, there are certain more or less self-appointed "saviours" who cannot resist the fascinating temptation to refashion mankind. Others, a little more cynical, exploit these human needs and desires.

But there is one quick test of all these planners and their plans: simply turn to the section on Africa and note whether the same freedoms are extended to the African people as are prescribed for others elsewhere. If this is not so, the chances are that the whole plan is faulty and should, therefore, be discarded.

It is impossible, of course, to examine in any detail the programs of the hundreds of peace planning organizations operating today (230 in the United States alone). Nor is this necessary. The style and approach are often similar, with variation only in some insignificant detail. The following summary may indicate typical treatments and the outline of another instance of man's indifference to man.

Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson in their *Problems of Lasting Peace* not only ignore the interests and welfare of the African people but almost assume that the continent is empty and may be useful, therefore, as a dumping-ground for exported Europeans. It is also thought of as a valuable source of raw materials.

In the highly publicized world federation plan of Ely Culbertson, the card game expert, "the crazy-quilt map of Africa" is to be eliminated by the "substitution of three great blocs." One bloc is assigned to the British Federation, another to the Latin Federation, and a third to the Germanic Federation. The possibility of a Native African Federation, apparently, has never occurred to the contract bridge champion.

The Federal Union plan of Clarence Streit and company is based upon the idea of federation of the English-speaking nations of the world. In this scheme colonies are taken away from the member nations and are assigned to the general Federation Government. No promise of franchise rights to the colonial peoples is made. The increasing strength of the Soviet Union, China and other non-English-speaking nations makes any such dominant Federal Union of English-speaking nations unlikely.

The Chicago Tribune has perhaps unwittingly reduced this Federal Union plan to absurdity. A long editorial of April 24th of this year recommends that:

> If the British Commonwealth and the nations of Western Europe wish to enjoy closer association with us in foreign policy, defense, trade, currency, patents, and all the other fields of Federal jurisdiction, and if for our part we wish similarly to link ourselves to them, the way to accomplish the result is clear. All they need do is apply for membership [as new states] and all we need do is accept them as we once accepted Texas.

The editor goes on to say (perhaps with tongue in cheek) that this union should be advantageous and easy enough for England, Scotland, Wales, Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand. The Union of South Africa, however, "presents a much more difficult problem. The laws of this Dominion violate the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments and there is little reason to believe that the Dominion is prepared to accept our views of human freedom."

South African Aims

The Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias have their own plan for a United States of Africa. Even now a conference is being arranged, exclusively white, whereby the whole of Africa from the Cape up through the Rhodesias and East Africa will be united under "white domination." South African Prime Minister Smuts, himself, has repeatedly insisted that the British dominions, meaning the Union of South Africa principally, should brave more influence and control of British colonies within their immediate vicinity. For some time the Union has wanted to annex Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, the native

protectorates, which are under British control.

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace is one of the most important of such bodies in this country. It is handsomely financed by the Carnegie Endowment Fund and has had a group of distinguished scholars and public figures (no Negroes) at work since November 1939. Professor James T. Shotwell, the historian, is the chairman of this group. All of this makes the failure of the commission to advance constructive proposals for Africa that much more dramatic and disappointing. Thus far three reports have been published. The first report of November 1940 dealt with the principles of international organization. Here it was admitted that "federation organizes consent on the international scale while empire organizes coercion on that scale." And yet in the commission's second report, which treats the transitional period mmediately following the end of the war and in which the United Nations will have maximum control, instead of coming out for freedom for the colonies of enemy states like Italy, or of such other states like France or Belgium who would, in the commission's own words, probably be in no position to adequately govern these colonial territories, the commission would have international authority buttress the shattered empires or would assign the colonies to some neighboring nation.

The third report, "The United Nations and The Organization of Peace," calls for a United Nations Conference. Here the commission reveals its plan of limited advancement for the colonial peoples and pontifically observes that the application of the Atlantic Charter "does not mean that immediate self-determination can or should be granted indiscriminately to all colonial peoples, nor that the services which many colonial governments have furnished in the past can be immediately dispensed with." Thus, "the colonial question is therefore a complicated one for which no panacea may be promised."[11] Admittedly, but are not all world problems "complicated"?

Perhaps, after all, these scholars and public figures agree with the British Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security, Mr. Herbert Morrison, when he says that "It would be sheer ignorant and dangerous nonsense to talk about grants of full self-government to many of the dependent territories for some time to come. In those instances it would be like giving a child of ten a latch-key, bank account and shot gun."[12]

The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protective Society of England has proposed an international colonial convention. This idea will prove of some help, but it is based on a maximum of hope and a minimum of reality. For example, the conference would be composed of experts; the people of the colonies would be only "consulted." The general principle of this conference is described in thirty-six articles. Many of these are splendid. But in substance, here again, is benevolent paternalism. Even the international colonial commission which is to serve as a general overall body to check on the observance of the thirty-six articles by the various colonial powers will not include representation of the native African people. This plan demonstrates once more that by itself a good heart is not enough.

The International Colonial Commission of the British Labor Party would extend the mandates system; end colonial monopoly and supervise the "open door" policy. All nations would have equal access to raw materials, markets and investment opportunities; discrimination would cease; indigenous institutions would be improved and preserved; lands would be communally owned and developed by public authority; a measure of political democracy would be extended to the native people. Comparatively speaking, very good, but is this good enough?

Africa and the Atlantic Charter from an American Standpoint is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject. The American committee of missionaries and scholars, Negro and white, who drew up this report took the eight points of the Atlantic Charter and applied them one by one to Africa. This is a very useful study, though it is far too apologetic and tentative.

Albert Q. Maisel's *Africa: Facts and Forecasts* is one of the few plans which begins with the interests of the African people. Despite the weaknesses of this very readable book, it submits a sound set of proposals for the application of the Atlantic Charter to Africa—political advancement, improved labor, education and health services, giant TVA public works projects and commercial and agricultural developments. The author is persuasive in his attempt to show the great powers that they, too, will gain from these improvements which will aid the native peoples. There is nothing about "Boer fascism" in South Africa.

A Real Peace

If nearly all these peace plans are unsatisfactory, in one way or another, what, then, are some of the essential elements which an adequate approach should embrace?

I—In all declarations of war and peace aims by the United Nations, the interests and welfare of the African people must be considered on the same level as are the interests and welfare of the people of Europe, the Americas and Asia.

II—The African people should be armed and permitted, if they so desire, full participation in the fight against fascism.

III—Any conferences or commissions which are set up to consider the problems of peace or post-war planning in Africa should include representatives of the native African people; if American citizens are to be members on any of these commissions, American Negroes should be included.

IV—There should be no transfer of territory in Africa from one imperialistic power to another. Thus, a shattered Italian empire in Africa should not be returned to Italy or some other European power; rather, it should be released to the inhabitants of these territories themselves. This principle would also raise the question as to whether the French and Belgian colonies in Africa have not been forfeited to the inhabitants of these territories, for France and Belgium, as a matter of fact, no longer exist as nations. Too, this means that the African protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland should not be annexed by the Union of South Africa.

V—The United Nations (or the equivalent world organization) should investigate fascism in South Africa. The treatment of the native Bantu in the Union of South Africa is similar to Hitler's treatment of the peoples of Central Europe.

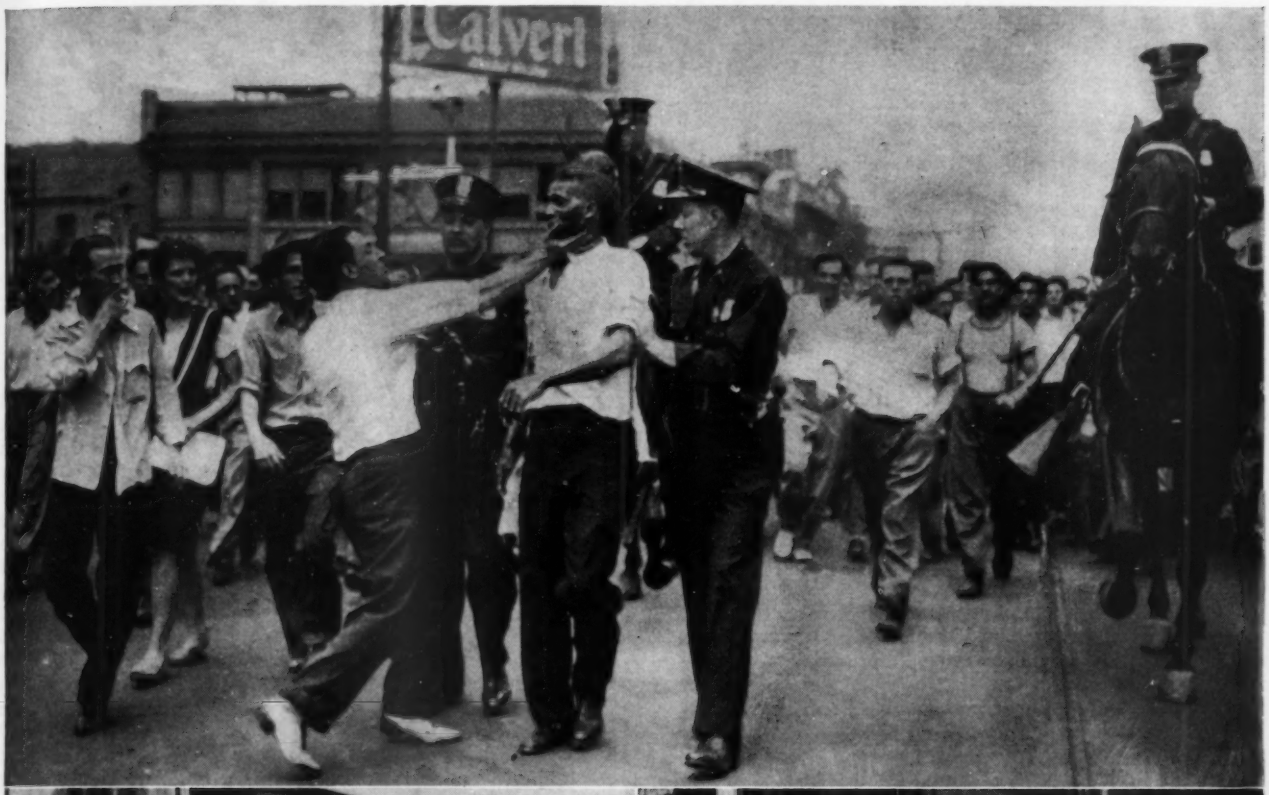
VI—Labor standards such as those of the International Labor Office should be maintained, with minimum guarantees for all African workers and the abolition of the color bar.

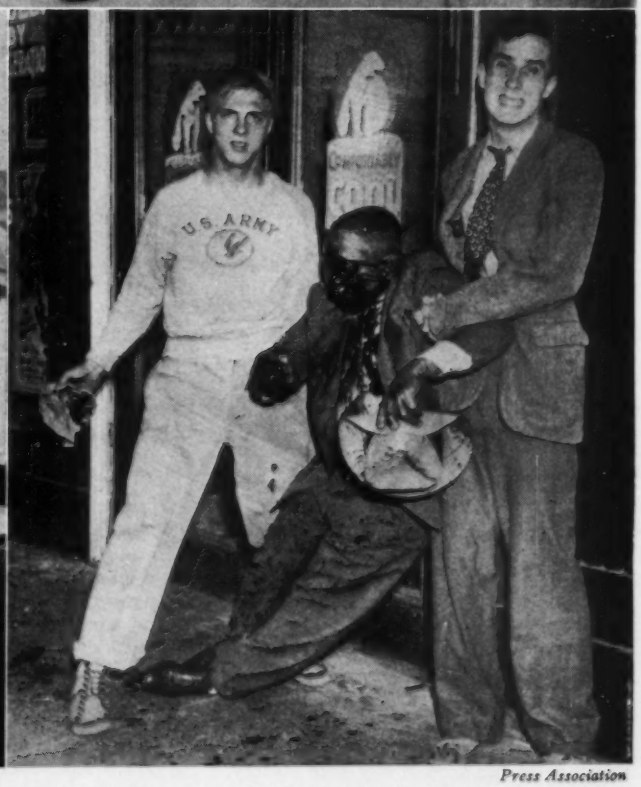
VII—Real representation and suffrage rights of the native African people in local, regional and continental government. The continent falls into six major regions which geographically, economically and culturally represent units for political organization. These six regions together would make up the council of Africa which federated with the council of Europe, the council of Asia and the council of the Americas would constitute the world organization.[13]

These seven points for Africa, obviously, are not a blue-print of the future. They represent only the elementary principles upon which such a blue-print might be constructed. Since these are essentially the philosophy of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, the unavoidable question is: Why has not this approach been made before?

(*Continued on page* 217)

Best Riot Pictures from Detroit





Press Association

The very best photo of the Detroit, Mich., race riot, June 20–22, is shown at the top. Two mounted police and two foot policemen fail to prevent a Negro from being struck by a white rioter. This picture bears out the wide criticism of the role of the police in the riot; they killed 20 of the 25 dead Negroes, shot not a single white person. Lower left: A victim being dragged from a trolley. Lower right: Two lads aid a man beaten to a bloody pulp

Lily White "Walled City"

By Constance H. Curtis

ON June 3, the Board of Estimate of the City of New York, which is the highest legislative section of the New York City Council, ratified a contract with the Metropolitan Life Insurance company for the construction of a $50,000,000 post-war housing project, to be called "Stuyvestant Town," on the lower east side of New York City. In this city within a city, where approximately 24,000 people will reside, the Metropolitan Life Insurance company has stated that no Negro tenants will be accepted. Frederick H. Ecker, chairman of the board of Metropolitan, expressed the company's position in these words, "Negroes and whites don't mix. Perhaps they will in a hundred years but they don't now. If we brought them into this development, it would be to the detriment of the city, too, because it would depress all the surrounding property."

With the clearly outlined policy of the company before them, the New York Board of Estimate voted 11 to 5 in favor of the project. With their approval went a grant of tax exemption of more than $1,000,000 annually for 25 years, or a total exceeding $25,000,000; a contribution of 504,449 square feet of city owned land, representing 19% of the site area; and an empowerment of the company with the right of eminent domain to aid it in assembling the land.

Newbold Morris, president of the City Council, and Edgar J. Nathan, Jr., Manhattan borough president, cast their votes against the housing plan. In his statement of disapproval of the undemocratic undertaking Mr. Morris said:

"Now in casting my vote in the negative, I know full well the responsibility I am taking. I know full well that if my point of view prevails, it may mean the end of Stuyvestant houses. As Commissioner Moses says, it may mean the end of all such privately initiated projects. Huge as this project is it dwindles down into insignificance as compared to the principle.

"The principle of equality is as old as our nation. Men of all races have thought it good enough to make supreme sacrifices for it in every generation. It is enunciated in the Declaration of Independence; it is written in the Constitution. It is the law of the land. It is the keystone of the arch of our free society.

"Once we are committed to that principle, we can not be content to invoke it on some occasions and discard it for compelling reasons on other occasions. As we sit here, men are dying for that principle, the least we can do is to live for it.

A furor has been raised in New York over a city-approved housing project, to be erected by the wealthy Metropolitan Life Insurance company at a cost of $50,000,000, from which Negro tenants will be excluded

"Therefore, because I care more about the principle than I do about the project, because I can not vote for public aid and public sponsorship of a private project whose officers state with candor that racial consideration will enter into the selection of tenants, I cast the three votes of my office in the negative."

Prior to the vote of approval by the Board, organizations and individuals throughout the entire city protested the project. From the offices of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People went a plea to 2,000 selected local members to send telegrams and letters stating their opposition to the measure to Mayor LaGuardia and other members of the Board.

A telegraphed plea asking a delay in the vote on the project was sent in by 15 civic organizations and was signed by the American Civil Liberties Union, the CIO, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the AF of L, the City Affairs Committee, the City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem and other organizations.

An amendment to the Administrative Code was introduced in the May 21 meeting of the City Council by Councilmen Stanley M. Isaacs and A. Clayton Powell, Jr., the latter the only Negro member of the group. This amendment, if passed, will prevent the Metropolitan Life Insurance company and all other such future contracting parties from following a policy of racial discrimination.

In addition to the Isaacs-Powell anti-discrimination amendment, which has not yet been voted upon, the City Council has adopted, by a vote of 23 to 1, a resolution upholding equal opportunity for all citizens to become tenants in all housing projects.

Court action has been instituted by Julius L. Goldstein, counsel of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, to restrain the city from carrying out the contract with Metropolitan. The action was based on the contention that approval of the contract by the Board was invalid. Mr. Goldstein contends that a three-fourths vote was necessary, which was not reached when only 11 of the 16 votes were cast in favor of the plan.

Counsel of the staff of the NAACP are studying means by which legal action may be taken which will either insure the admission of all races into the project or will bar such a plan entirely.

A temporary stay has been granted restraining any action on the project, pending argument before the courts in yet another suit brought by the property owners of the area affected.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance company, which owns Parkchester, an all-white development in the Bronx, has not only flatly stated that no Negroes are wanted as tenants in the proposed "Stuyvestant Town," but has made no provisions for a school within the entire area of their "city." A Metropolitan official has been quoted as giving as the reasons for the company's failure to provide adequate educational facilities that "there is no room for it" and that it does not wish to have outside children enter the project, particularly Negro children.

Plans for the building of "Stuyvestant Town" were first known to the public April 19, when Mayor LaGuardia revealed that a "delightful residential community with an atmosphere of trees and parks" was under consideration. On May 5, the City Planning Commission held its first hearing on the proposal, and on May 20, voted its approval. June 3, the Board of Estimate completed the city's approval of the plan by voting in favor of it also. In less than three months Metropolitan had laid its plans for a $50,000,000 "walled city" before the government of the State and the City of New York, and had rushed them through to final approval!

The Metropolitan project was made possible by the Hampton bill, which was passed by the legislature and signed by New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey on April 3 of this year. When Governor Dewey signed the bill, he admitted some doubts about the law but added: "The purpose of the bill, however, is of such great importance that I have resolved the doubt in favor of the bill.

"The immediate practical problem is housing or no housing. The answer is in favor of housing."

(*Continued on page 222*)

First Ladies of Colored America—No. 11

MRS. CRYSTAL BIRD FAUSET, special consultant to the director of the Office of Civilian Defense, was elected to the House of Representatives in Pennsylvania in 1938, the first colored woman so honored. Membership is held by Mrs. Fauset on the advisory committee of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, the advisory committee of the Adult Education Council for Philadelphia and the Board of Trustees of Cheyney State Teachers college. In 1939 she was cited by Governor George H. Earle as the recipient of the Meritorious Service Medal of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. During the summers of 1933–1935, she acted as executive secretary of the Institute of Race Relations at Swarthmore college and in 1939 she was appointed assistant state director of the WPA education and recreation program. Mrs. Fauset was reared in Boston, Massachusetts, and is a graduate of Teachers college, Columbia university

MRS. ENOLIA PETTIGEN McMILLAN, executive secretary of the Maryland Federation of Parent-Teacher Associations, president State Teachers' Association and chairman Joint Committee to Equalize Teachers' Salaries in Maryland. A native of Willow Grove, Pa., she received the B.A. in education from Howard university and the M.A. at Columbia university. She was awarded the Romiett Stevens' scholarship for doctorate work. Principal of the Pomonkey, Md., high school until 1935 she is at present a teacher in one of the junior high schools of Baltimore. She is vice president of the Maryland State Conference of NAACP branches, vice president of region 5 of the American Teachers' Association and director of the Baptist Training Union. She is an active member of the Calvary Baptist church and mother of a 2-year-old son

MRS. FREDERICKA DOUGLASS SPRAGUE PERRY, founder of the Missouri State Ass'n. of Colored Girls, served as its state supervisor for 18 years and as chairman of the National Ass'n. of Colored Girls. Through her efforts the Big Sister Home for Girls in Kansas City, Mo., has carried on for 9 years work for the rehabilitation of underprivileged girls. She is the organizer of the Women's Auxiliary of the Wheatley Provident hospital, which has netted the institution more than $30,000 during the past 25 years. The site for a nurses' home was purchased by the Wheatley hospital Beacon Club, also founded by Mrs. Perry. She served as president of the Kansas City Civic Ass'n., which supplied lawyers for the defense of any persecuted Negro. A graduate of Mechanics Art institute, Rochester, N. Y., she established the home economics departments at Lincoln university, Mo., and Lincoln high school, Kansas City. Mrs. Perry, who is the granddaughter of Frederick Douglass, was recently elected to the board of trustees of the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association

MRS. FLORENCE JOHNSON HUNT is president emeritus of the Georgia Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, an organization which she served as president for 8 years. A graduate of Atlanta university, she was a teacher in the schools of Durham, N. C., prior to her marriage to Henry A. Hunt, who became president of Fort Valley (Ga.) Teachers College in 1904. In appreciation for her work during the drive to build an infirmary at Fort Valley it was named in her honor. As president of the Georgia Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, she was the leader in building and financing a training school for delinquent girls. A tract of 131 acres of land and a building accommodating over 30 girls were obtained during her presidency. At the sitting of the legislature in January, 1943, Gov. Arnall signed a bill granting state aid for expenses entailed in caring for girls at the institution. Mrs. Hunt was born in Raleigh, N. C., and has traveled in both Sweden and Denmark. She is a member of the WCTU and was recently appointed to the executive committee of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

NAACP Emergency War Conference: Opening in the midst of a racial strike at the Packard Motor company, the NAACP Emergency War Conference, which was held in Detroit, Michigan, June 3-6, brought together delegates from 39 states, to discuss and plan for the Negro now and in the post war world.

High point at the conference was the monster mass meeting held in the Olympia stadium, June 6. There, the Spingarn Medal was presented to Judge William H. Hastie by Congressman Will Rogers, Jr. Judge Hastie received the award for his refusal to temporize with racial bigotry in the War department. In protest against discrimination in the armed forces, particularly in the air force, he resigned his position as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War last January.

Sessions of the conference dealt with topics pertinent to the conduct of a successful war effort. Judge Hastie was opening discussion leader in the section on "The Armed Services"; Earl Dickerson, FEPC member, led the discussion, "Manpower—The Right to Work for Victory". "Treatment of the Negro in the Press, Radio and Motion Picture" was discussed by George S. Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier* and Albert Deutsch, columnist on the newspaper *PM*. Methods for "Securing Democracy at Home" were outlined by Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP counsel. Dr. Channing H. Tobias, member of the National Council of the YMCA, was the leader of the discussion of "The Church as a Force for Democratic Rights".

On Saturday afternoon, June 5, the delegates adopted the "Statement to the Nation", which was read at the mass meeting June 6, by Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. In part, the Statement to the Nation said:

The treatment of Negroes in the Armed Services is marked by daily subjection to the indignities of segregation and discrimination, with a constant recurrence of brutalities and murders by civilian and military police. This evil condition reaches into the homes and hearts of every American Negro. It constitutes a serious and continuously existing breach in our national unity and is naturally reducing the spirit and morale of the Negro citizen. It also furnishes material for Axis propaganda.

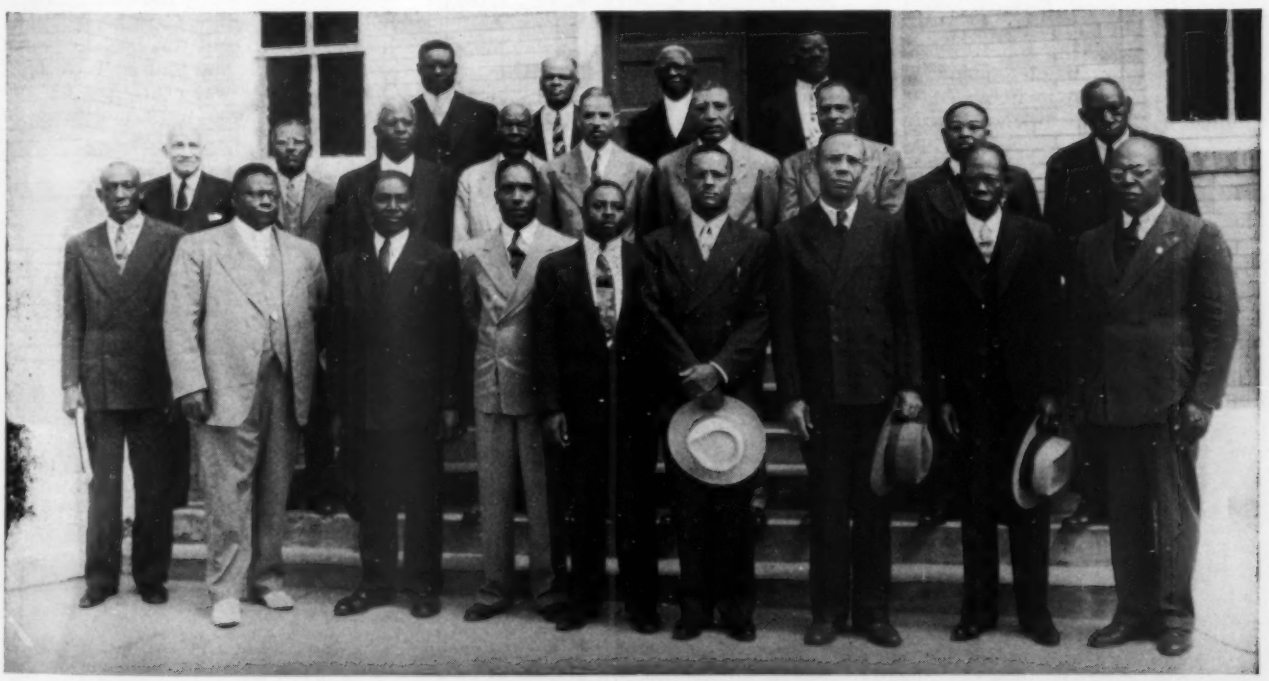
The continued ill treatment of Negroes in uniform, both on military reservations and in many civilian communities is disgraceful. Negroes in the uniform of the nation have been beaten, mobbed, killed and lynched.

We demand the ending of this discrimination and segregation. We pledge our support to Winfred Lynn in his effort to be recognized as a conscientious objector to serving in a segregated army. The President, as Commander-in-Chief, has the full power to end discrimination and segregation in the armed forces. We call on him to use that power now.

We hail the Four Freedoms as our war aims but both American Negroes and colored peoples all over the world will justly regard the Four Freedoms as hypocrisy unless the President acts to end discrimination against Negroes in the Armed Forces of our nation.

Among the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all citizens of the United States is equality of opportunity which includes the right to work and to earn a living, qualified only by fitness for the job with no exception based on race, creed, color, or national origin.

We condemn the action of our government in permitting both direct and indirect violations of the letter and spirit of the rules of



Ministers who helped in the membership drive of the Houston branch include; front row, left to right: Revs. G. H. Guyton, N. C. Crain, life member; J. E. Jenkins, E. R. Green, M. L. Price, W. A. Peterson, J. M. West, J. L. Harris and J. P. Churchwell. Second row: Revs. T. J. Clements, W. T. Perry, L. B. Tolson, Burton, J. D. Moore, J. B. Norman, H. O. Scott. Third row: Revs. A. J. Matthews, A. A. Lucas, branch president. Forty-five other ministers who took part in the campaign are not pictured

the Civil Service Commission resulting in employment discrimination. We equally condemn the policy of the United States Employment Service in aiding and abetting discrimination. We commend the upgrading policies established by some unions and we urge similar action on the part of other unions.

We condemn those branches of organized labor which deny membership to persons on account of race, color, creed or national origin and the practice of setting up "auxiliary" unions for Negro workers. We feel that at present there is no need for a conscription of labor and we condemn policies and directives of federal agencies which authorize the freezing of agricultural and industrial workers.

We call upon the press to change its prejudiced policy in treatment of Negro subject matter. We call upon the radio and motion picture industries to abandon their long established practice of depicting Negroes exclusively in servile roles. We demand that the OWI abandon its policy of treating the Negro as a separate and isolated subject.

The failure of the churches of America to take a positive, courageous and constructive stand on segregation and discrimination against the Negro in church life is a matter of grave concern to us. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is a fundamental Christian concept. In spite of this truth we find that the church has acquiesced and in many instances erected racial barriers among its own followers. We declare that the violation of any basic principle of the church threatens the foundation upon which democracy is founded.

Supreme Court Ruling Saves Men: The United States district court in Louisiana, which sentenced three Negro soldiers to death on rape charges, had no jurisdiction to try the men, the United States Supreme Court ruled in an opinion handed down by Associate Justice Hugo Black, May 24.

Following an appeal by the NAACP, the United States Supreme Court acted on the question of jurisdiction which had been submitted to it by the U. S. Court of Appeals of the 5th Circuit for a ruling. NAACP counsel contended that the conviction of the soldiers, Richard Adams, John Bordenave and Lawrence Mitchell, had taken place at a time when Federal authorities had no jurisdiction over the lands of Camp Claiborne, La., where the crime of rape was alleged to have been committed.

The NAACP did not enter the case until after the conviction of these soldiers, who were rushed to trial and sentenced before members of their families had time to secure fees for private counsel. The court assigned an attorney and the soldiers were convicted last summer.

At the present time the men are confined at Texarkana, Texas. Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, said that the NAACP is now considering the legal steps that may be taken next to save the men from death when a retrial is set.

Mobile Shipyard Segregation Scored: The NAACP has called upon War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt to revoke action proposed by Burton R. Morley, area director, to segregate Negro and white workers at the Pinto Island shipyards of the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding company. Father Francis J. Haas, newly appointed FEPC chairman, has also been urged to oppose the compromise plan.

Not only is segregation a step backward, said the NAACP, but it will be economically discriminatory through limitation of Negro workers to unskilled jobs and to work as shipfitters, welders, drillers and other skilled and semi-skilled labor, but will shut them out from the highest paid jobs such as electrical workers, machine operators and pipe fitters. With such a plan in effect, instigators of the recent riots at the yards, May 25, will have won their point, the NAACP charged.

"Either the United States Government should utilize," the Association said, "any and all authority necessary to prevent Ku Klux Klan and other subversive agencies from forcing government and employers to discriminate or anarchy will result. Any compromise with evil by War Manpower Commission or any other governmental agencies would be disastrous at this stage of the war."

Peonage Investigation Urged: Charges that Negro farm workers in southeastern Missouri are being beaten, arrested and forced into virtual peonage drew from the NAACP, May 27, an urgent appeal to Victor W. Rotnem, chief of the Civil Liberties Section of the Department of Justice, to make a thorough investigation.

The NAACP has information that large numbers of farmers and county police officials, in an effort to stop Negro farm workers from leaving the area for more lucrative employment in industrial centers, have resorted to placing them under arrest on spurious charges and requiring them to work on local plantations when they are unable to pay fines.

David Davis, a farm worker in Wardell County, Missouri, was taken from his home on May 4 by the local constable and lodged in jail at Caruthersville. It is alleged that Davis was brutally beaten by the constable and four state troopers. One of his eyes was nearly put out and several lacerations were noticeable on

Some of the delegates to the NAACP War Conference, which was held in

his body when he was allowed to return home. Under the threat that he would be killed and thrown in the river, Davis is alleged to have confessed to charges of being a "peeping Tom". The white women who are supposed to have made the complaint could not identify him.

It is said that Davis was fined $100, without trial, and being unable to pay it, was forced to sign a contract to help cultivate 15 acres of cotton on the farm of O. P. Tolghmon.

Other farm workers in the area have been threatened with similar treatment.

Score Evils Behind Riots: The prompt action of Attorney General Robert Kenney, of California, in quelling and curbing the recent "zoot suit" riots, was commended by Walter White, executive secretary, in a letter to President Roosevelt, Secretary of War Stimson, Secretary of Navy Knox and Attorney General Francis Biddle of the Department of Justice.

Merely banning members of the armed services from areas in which rioting has occurred is not sufficient, White pointed out. Corrective action should be taken against the rioters, whether wearing zoot suits or the uniform of the Army, Navy, Coast Guard or Marines, he stated. "Otherwise these members of the armed services will believe the wearing of the uniform gives them license to act as arbiters of how civilians may dress, speak, act or think. The inevitable result will be anarchy and complete collapse of democratic government."

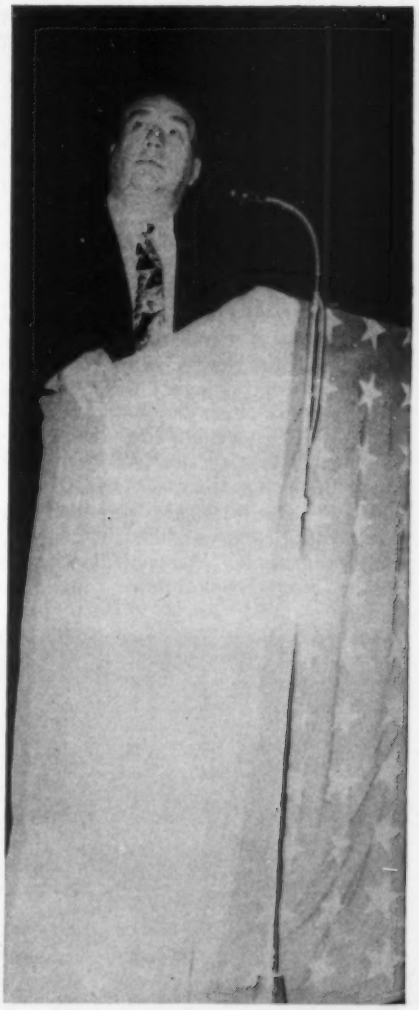
White urged, "that responsible agencies of federal and state governments take firm and immediate action against all persons responsible for the rioting and, equally important, take immediate steps to correct the fundamental social evils of employment and housing segregation, proscription, and recreation which lead young people—Mexican, white and Negro—to dress themselves in a fashion to compensate for the sense of rejection and bewilderment from which many American youths suffer in the period of uncertainty and chaos through which we are now passing."

Soldier Outbreak at Camp Stewart: The killing of a white MP, Pfc. Ronie E. Lindsey of Valdosta, Ga., and the wounding of four others by bullets allegedly fired by Negro troops on June 9, was, according to the NAACP, the culmination of unsatisfactory conditions which have existed at the camp for some months.

The NAACP has submitted to the Department of Justice the report of an investigator who was immediately dispatched to the scene. The findings in the report revealed:

The transportation situation is, and for a long time has been, a rasping issue. Separate buses are operated for white and Negro soldiers, in the ratio of about one for Negroes to six for whites, despite the fact Negro soldiers are approximately 40% of camp personnel. The taxicabs in Hinesville, nearest town to Camp Stewart, refuse to ride Negro soldiers.

There is high resentment among Negro soldiers of the Nazi-racial attitude of the white officers in command. Interviewed Negro officers and enlisted men all insisted that the situation could not be remedied so long as they remained under command of Colonels Gross and Ochs, both of German extraction, and



R. J. Thomas, president of UAW-CIO, tells NAACP audience that Klan inspired Detroit's Packard strike

Detroit, June 3-6, are shown in front of the Second Baptist Church

General Spiller, who was characterized as being "definitely in sympathy with the whole policy of discrimination".

Negro MP's are without authority. Negro soldiers and civilians resent this, and resent that all MP's stationed in Savannah are white, even those designated to patrol the most thickly settled Negro sections.

Recreation facilities for Negro soldiers are glaringly inadequate. Fifty persons crowd out the USO; the Negro service club has a total floor space coverage of 100 x 200 feet; there are no provisions made at all for the recreation of Negro officers. Contrastingly, white officers have a service club; the white USO is a spacious two-story building; white service men have a service club with floor space measuring 350 x 500 feet.

Meagre facilities are provided for treatment of Negro soldiers afflicted with venereal diseases. White civilian nurses in the camp hospital have refused to handle Negro patients, and in Savannah there is only one prophylactic station for colored soldiers.

In two known instances colored soldiers have been kicked by white officers. On one occasion the officer was not identified, on the other, the officer's punishment was transferral to another camp.

Contributing also to the tension which resulted in the violent outbreak were numerous other factors. Relations of Negro soldiers with local law enforcement officers have been generally bad. Racial segregation signs were posted on toilets at the prison stockade and Negro officers are generally subjected to unnecessarily humiliating treatment.

"White Primary" Before Supreme Court: The long legal fight to outlaw the "white primary" in the South is now before the United States Supreme Court. On June 7, the Supreme Court granted certiorari in the case of Lonnie Smith vs. the election judges in Houston, Texas.

Duncan

Walter White addresses Hartford branch

Part of the crowd who witnessed the presentation of the Spingarn Medal to Judge William H. Hastie, at Olympia Stadium, Detroit

The election judges had refused to permit Smith to vote in the Houston primary election.

During the fall term of the Supreme Court there will be argument on this question; in the interim NAACP lawyers are preparing briefs to be submitted prior to argument of the case. The motion of the American Civil Liberties Union to file a brief amicus curiae in this case has also been granted by the Supreme Court.

The granting of certiorari in the Texas primary case is hailed as a further step in securing the franchise for the Negro citizen in the South.

Branch News

California: A special Mother's Day program followed the meeting of the Santa Clara branch, May 9. Two members of the branch contributed numbers written especially for the occasion, a poem, "Mothers of Men", and a dramatic skit, "Voices from the Past".

Connecticut: The Bridgeport-Stratford branch held a panel discussion on "How Can the Colored Citizen of Bridgeport Lose His Burden?", at the May 21 meeting of the branch. The program also included a showing of the NAACP technicolor film, "On Guard". Awards were made to the Misses Alvord Blackwell and Louise Nims, graduates of Danbury and New Haven State Teachers colleges respectively.

Walter White, executive secretary, was the principal speaker at the meeting opening the Hartford branch's membership campaign, May 7. Donald Jones, assistant field secretary, worked with members of the branch in the drive which came to a successful close, May 16.

At the May 16 meeting of the Stamford branch a panel discussion was held on "Why Morale with the Negro?" The panel, which dealt with the armed forces, women, economics, civilian defense and war industry, was led by Frank D. Griffin, executive secretary of the Brooklyn Civic and Labor committee.

Louisiana: The Lake Charles branch has recently completed a successful membership drive in which they obtained more than 600 members; the branch intends swelling this number to 1,000 by the end of the month. Through the efforts of branch president Washington, the municipal officers on juvenile delinquency and law enforcement have appointed 12 Negro policemen to the force. Working in conjunction with the city, the branch has begun to equip a playground for children.

Masschusetts: Prentice Thomas, assistant special counsel, spoke at the May 23 meeting of the Springfield branch. More than 100 members have been enrolled during the membership campaign which closed, June 15.

Rev. H. Laurence McNeil of Dayton, Ohio, was principal speaker at the regular meeting of the Grand Rapids branch, May 23. Reports were submitted by the special committee investigating rumors of jim crowism at the Borough Community Center.

Missouri: The May 2 meeting of the St. Joseph branch had as its speaker Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Oklahoma **Black Dispatch**. A goal of 500 new members has been set in the current membership campaign.

Workers in the Richmond, Va., membership drive. Roy Wilkins, fifth from left, front row. Mrs. Senora B. Lawson, campaign director, sixth from left; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Virginia state conference of branches and board member, center, front

New Jersey: The Bergen branch marked the close of its membership drive, June 17.

The Burlington County branch has brought to a successful end a suit instituted by them in behalf of 5 Negro nurses who were refused service in a local drug store. The membership drive of the branch was opened May 23, with Dr. Abraham Holtzberg, rabbi of one of Trenton's largest synagogues, the principal speaker. Dr. Charles F. Gibson is president of the branch.

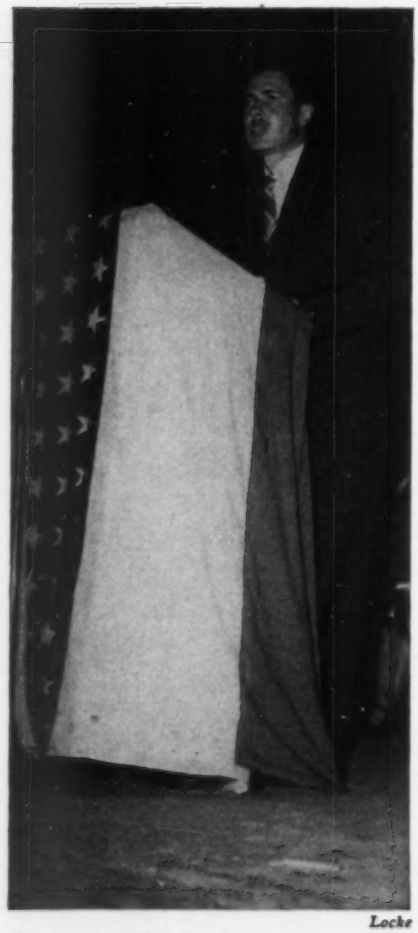
Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, field secretary, was principal speaker at a meeting of the Camden branch, May 15, held during the membership drive.

The annual membership campaign of the Jersey City branch was launched, May 24. Alfred Baker Lewis, national board member, talked on the need for a strengthening of inter-racial justice. Rev. E. S. Hardge is president of the branch and Mrs. Mary E. Pope was chairman of the campaign, which ended June 8.

A citizens mass meeting was held by the Newark branch, June 13, at which time Walter White, executive secretary, spoke on "Our Struggle for Democracy at Home". This was the closing meeting of the branch's membership drive, which was under the leadership of Shirley Graham, assistant field secretary.

Lt. Mary Moore, WAAC recruiting officer, was guest speaker at the May 26 meeting of the Paterson branch. The report of the nominating committee was submitted and branch officers for the year selected.

A mass meeting marking the close of the membership drive of the Trenton branch was held May 18. Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, field secretary, spoke at the meeting where final reports of memberships totaling more than 500 were read.



Locke

Congressman Will Rogers, Jr., who presented the Spingarn medal to Judge William H. Hastie

New York: A discussion of the treatment of Negroes in Army camps was held at the meeting of the Staten Island branch, May 25. Mrs. Drusilla Poole was in charge of the meeting at which Samuel Browne was named as the branch delegate to the NAACP war conference.

A radio broadcast was sponsored by the Niagara Falls branch, May 20 in connection with their membership campaign. The drive, which sought 500 new members, was under the leadership of Mrs. S. Armithine Latimer and ended May 27. Dr. Charles B. Hayes is branch president.

Ohio: The membership campaign of the Dayton branch opened on May 10, with a goal set at 2,000 additional members. Dr. M. R. Clarke is chairman of the drive.

Oregon: Among the activities of the Portland branch is prosecution of the case of Lee Anderson vs. Boiler Makers local 72 and the Oregon Shipyard corporation. A decision in the case has been handed down in favor of Mr. Anderson, who is represented by NAACP counsel. The branch is also supporting other Negro workers at the Kaiser shipyards who refuse to apply for membership in the jim crow local of the Boilermakers union. The case of Robert Folkes, who is standing trial for the murder of a pullman car passenger, is being backed by the branch. J. James Clow is branch president.

Pennsylvania: A mass meeting was staged by the Lehigh Valley branch, June 1, at which time money was raised to send delegates to the NAACP war conference in Detroit.

Successful completion of a campaign for the re-organization of the Midland branch was celebrated at a public meeting, May 18. Officers recently elected are: Rev. J. B. McGavock, president; William D. Mason, vice president; Mrs. Lily Stiggins, secretary; Mrs. Metalean Singleton, assistant secretary, and James Lacy, treasurer. One hundred members, gained during the drive, brought the rolls of the branch to the largest total in its history.

Dean William Pickens, war bond representative of the U. S. Treasury department, was the main speaker at the opening meeting of the membership drive of the Pittsburgh branch.

Texas: The Houston branch presented the Wings Over Jordon Choral Emsemble in a recital, May 23. Rev. A. A. Lucas, president of the branch, was guest speaker on the group's nation-wide radio program which preceded their appearance at the recital.

Virginia: The closing of the Richmond branch's membership drive was marked with a mass meeting, May 23. Reports of the campaign showed that 2,364 members had enrolled and $3,185.25 had been contributed.

Mrs. K. L. Wiley spoke on "The Voting Status of Negroes in Virginia" at the monthly meeting of the Farmville branch, May 16.

A group, sponsored by the Newport News branch, has been formed to protest the action of the local school board in not re-appointing 3 Negro school principals and 3 teachers for the coming school term. Over 1,500 people attended the rally.

New Youth Director

Mrs. Ruby Hawkins Hurley, who began her duties as youth director of the NAACP, July 1. Mrs. Hurley was director of the Washington, D. C., youth council and a member of the executive committee of the District of Columbia branch

To a Negro Boy

Dark son of Eve, in you I see
the chains of my own slavery,
and where the fibrous brow is knit
I read the charge of hypocrite.

I read the burning years of hate,
unchanneled still and obdurate,
and in your eye's defiant pride
discover Christ, the crucified.

What will the mind have left to say
to God upon the judgment day,
when our ambition, love, and lust
are solved equations in the dust?

Dark son of Eve, still spurned by men,
can we expect compassion then?
Shall we be judged by heart or skin?
O grant we are not black within!

—Irwin Stark

Southern Democrats Revolt

The State executive committee of the Democratic party for South Carolina has refused a request of the National Democratic committee for financial aid. The South Carolina Democrats notified the national committee that they not only did not have funds but that they would not contribute if they could. Chief among reasons given for their attitude was the "apparent attempt of the national organization to obtain the national Negro vote against the wishes of South Carolina and other southern state organizations".

Book Review

LAND DOWN UNDER

***PALMETTO COUNTRY.* By Stetson Kennedy; edited by Erskine Caldwell. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1942. XII+340 pp. $3.00.**

The "Palmetto Country"—or the land down under—consists of the southern portions of Georgia, Alabama, and the state of Florida; a land of palmettos, long-leaf and slash pine, mangrove trees, cypress, Spanish moss, grass-water, sawgrass, and the Okefenokee Swamp; it is a sub-tropical region with 5,000 miles of coast line, and in its southernmost part is fringed by the Georgia Sea Islands and the Florida Keys. Its people are of many races and climes: there are Negroes and native crackers; American tourists and Greek sponge-divers; cowboys and cow-hunters; Cuban and Italian cigarmakers; Conch fisherfolk and farmers. And it is of this region and its people that the author writes so candidly, wisely, and objectively in this book.

Since the reader is naturally curious to know how the Negro fares, we will begin with the colored brother. Our author devotes two chapters exclusively to him—"Slave Days" and "Black Magic"—but does not omit when necessary to integrate him into the rest of the picture. Our author candidly admits that the healthiest Negro bucks were kept as "breeders" of slaves. He also tells the unique story of Zephaniah Kingsley, his African wife, and his mulatto children. He even quotes Kingsley's will under the title "Whereas I Don't Give a Damn!" Kingsley was a Scot who had made a fortune in Brazil and the West Indies as a coffee merchant and slave-trader. He operated his own slave fleet and always gave "a rigorous course of vocational training and conversational English" to all his slaves. Hence "Kingsley's niggers" always brought premium prices in the slave marts. On one of his African slaving trips Kingsley met and married the daughter of a Senegalese chief and then brought her back to Fort George to be the mistress of his house and slaves. And when pa Kingsley died he left his entire estate to Mrs. Anna Madgigiane Jai Kingsley and his children. Some excellent Negro folk tales are also related. West Hell or Diddy-Wah-Diddy lies a little west of Regular Hell and it is the place where the most wicked sinners are consigned. When Big John the Conqueror flew into West Hell, he was riding on the back of an eagle. He looked around for a few minutes and then fell right in love with the Devil's youngest daughter. Naturally the Devil did not like it and in consequence he and Big John fought all over hell. Big John won by tearing off one of the Devil's arms and then well-nigh beating the Devil to death with it. Big John married the Devil's daughter and just before he took her away he gave her pa orders to turn down the dampers in hell because he didn't want the house so hot if he and his wife should ever decide to return. The tale of how folks got their colors is also told; it is the same tale related by Miss Hurston in her autobiography. Other amusing tales are "Why Folks Aint Got Tails," "Why the World is So Wicked," "Why Solomon Said, 'Vanity of Vanities,'" "Why Women Talk So Much," and "Samson versus Satan." Some of the legendary heroes of the Negro folk in Palmetto country are Big John the Conqueror, mentioned above; the African medicine man, Uncle Monday; Kerosene Charlie, the migrant worker; Daddy Mention, the convict; and Roy Tyle, ace mechanic of the same mold as Paul Bunyan.

Our author writes sanely too of "black magic" among the unlettered of Florida's Negroes. He doesn't fall into the common error of believing that a belief in black magic is something racial, peculiar to Negroes, transmitted through the genes. For belief in magic of various kinds serves as a spiritual prop for millions of the world's inhabitants—even the most sophisticated and civilized. Here in the Palmetto Country thousands of the patrons of the conjure doctors are white people, and rich educated whites at that. They call it cunjervation, hoodoo, or voodoo, and along with the local cults go the foreign importations of *brujeria* (fetish cult) and *ñañiguismo* (secret society) from Cuba, and the obeah from the Bahamas. A sketch of "Who's Who in Voodoo" is given. Father Abraham is the most famous of those listed. He could cure any disease, remove even the worst spell, and give out the winning number in bolita.

Unlike many writers our author frankly admits that the Florida Maroons were Negro-Indian hybrids, although we can't accept his fanciful etymology that the word is an Anglicization of *morenos*, browns. It is more probably, as Webster's suggests, a corruption, through the French, of the Spanish *cimarrón*, wild. On the other hand, we rather like his explanation of the origin of the word "cracker." He claims it is from the Spanish *cuacáros* (Quakers), the name given to early non-Latin settlers.

Of these crackers, Mr. Kennedy has much to tell. They too have their folk heroes, their folk songs, and their folk say. A cracker entering a jook and seeing a girl at a table on a crying jag, sarcastically queried: "Who jerked your chain?" "Once upon a time, for example, there was a little jook girl sitting all alone at a table, drinking beer and not bothering anybody. Then in stalked a big overalled cracker. He looked around, walked over to the girl, and stood staring down at her. After a minute she looked up.

"'See anything green?' she asked.

"'Yeah,' he answered, and brained her with a beer bottle."

After a "Jook Tour" we learn where the "Red Lights" are glowing, visit the Conches or fisherfolk, a "turpmtime," turpenine camp, which is most "repulsively medieval" and where the Negro "slaves" never glimpse the freedom of the outside world, not even Florida freedom, and learn how cigars, made by the Latins, put Florida on the map. In closing it must be mentioned that there is an honest sketch of Jonathan Gibbs, the Negro superintendent of schools who really organized Florida's public educational system.

This is a meaty, extremely interesting book, filled with tall tales, snatches of little known folk songs of both whites and Negroes, sketches of singular characters, folksay, descriptions of the Everglades, and the rise and fall of some of Florida's industries. Mr. Kennedy gives us a key to the understanding of the people and the country that is the "Land Down Under."

James W. Ivy

Negroes on Ration Boards

The Office of Price Administration has issued an administrative order to its regional and district offices to place Negroes on war price and ration boards. No sectional exceptions were made in the order, which stated that "membership of each board shall be such as to represent the community as a whole."

Africa

(*Continued from page* 204)

In one sense it is profoundly shocking that the United Nations and the peace planners have not attempted any such fundamental design for world peace. However, on second thought, is it so strange after all? We do know that peace planning itself takes place within a social environment. This environment embraces powerful social forces such as the competition between British and American capitalism. As a case in point, the penetration of American capital into Canada, India, Australia and South Africa has been accelerated by the war. Accordingly, when Churchill argues that the Atlantic Charter applies only to Europe and Roosevelt argues that it applies to the world, this ideological difference cannot be separated completely from the basic systems—one expanding (the American), the other declining (the British)—and the set of ideas which grow out of these basic economic developments. Again, when Churchill asserts that Brtain intends to hold her own, perhaps he is thinking as much about holding on against American imperialists as he is against the Indian and African people who want to be free.

On the other hand, the British Labor Party has a socialist orientation and though it is not yet ready to end imperialism and bring the colonials within the cooperative society as equals, nevertheless, it is understandable that this Party's "colonial charter" should be liberal and progressive. The missionary and philanthropic societies are, after all, missionary and philanthropic societies. In the light of the history and function of such groups, should we be overly surprised or disappointed when weak, gradual, hopeful, goodwill policies are enthusiastically proclaimed?

Finally, when we remember the "provincial nationalism" of most Negro organizations in the United States, we have, at least, a partial explanation of the tardiness of these groups in projecting their own programs for the liberation of their fellows in Africa.

But when all has been said and every Machiavellian bow has been made before the altar of *Realpolitik*, the central fact remains: a hundred and fifty million Africans are not free! What about them? At the present time, their continent of twelve million square miles is almost completely in the hands of the United Nations. What about it?

This is our great opportunity. Since the first World War we have had to record the failure of many missions and the frustration of the common will for

"peace in our times." If now, on this world scale, when as the victorious United Nations we have this chance to demonstrate concretely our social intelligence and earnest concern for the welfare of mankind and ourselves, we "miss the bus", it is unlikely that our generation will, ever again, be able to place any confidence in man's intention or capacity to build a decent world.

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1. *The text of most of the speeches quoted may be found in* The New York Times *on the day following.*
2. Empire, *July, 1942, p.6.*
3. *United Nations Inf. Service,* Special Supplement Number 1 to United Nations Review, *Jan. 30, 1943. See, also,* The Peoples' Peace *by Representatives of the United Nations, N. Y.; Geo. Stewart Co., 1943.*
4. *Jan. 6, 1941.*
5. *Sept. 9, 1941, Italics mine.*
6. New York Times, *May 26, 1943, p. 23.*
7. *May 30, 1942.*
8. *May 31, 1943.*
9. Fortune, *June 1943.*
10. *British Inf. Service,* British Speeches of The Day, *March, 1943, p. 14.*
11. *Ibid., p. 20.*
12. United Nations Review, *Feb. 15, 1943, p. 65.*
13. *Robert Gardiner, African scholar, who first suggested this regional idea, has agreed to develop a plan along these lines.*

The individual who can see no good in, and loses no opportunity to vent his spite upon, a Jew because he happens to be a Jew, upon a Catholic because he happens to be a Catholic, upon a foreigner because he happens to be a foreigner, upon a Negro because he happens to be a Negro—is not essentially different from the followers of the dictators in their fiendish utilization of racial and religious animosities. There is the same mark of unintelligence, the same emotional immaturity, which Adolf Hitler and his ilk have used to such horribly good advantage.—Cincinnati *Enquirer,* editorial.

Lend-Lease to Liberia and Ethiopia

The Ethiopian delegation to the recent United Nations food conference is now in Washington completing arrangements for lend-lease aid from the United States. An agreement between the United States government and the Republic of Liberia has also been reached. The two countries have pledged mutual-aid throughout the course of the war.

Correction

In the June issue of The Crisis on page 188, the names of the two young ladies appearing as Queens of the Colleges were reversed. Our apologies to both Miss Catherine Coleman and Miss Lillian Lucille Jones.

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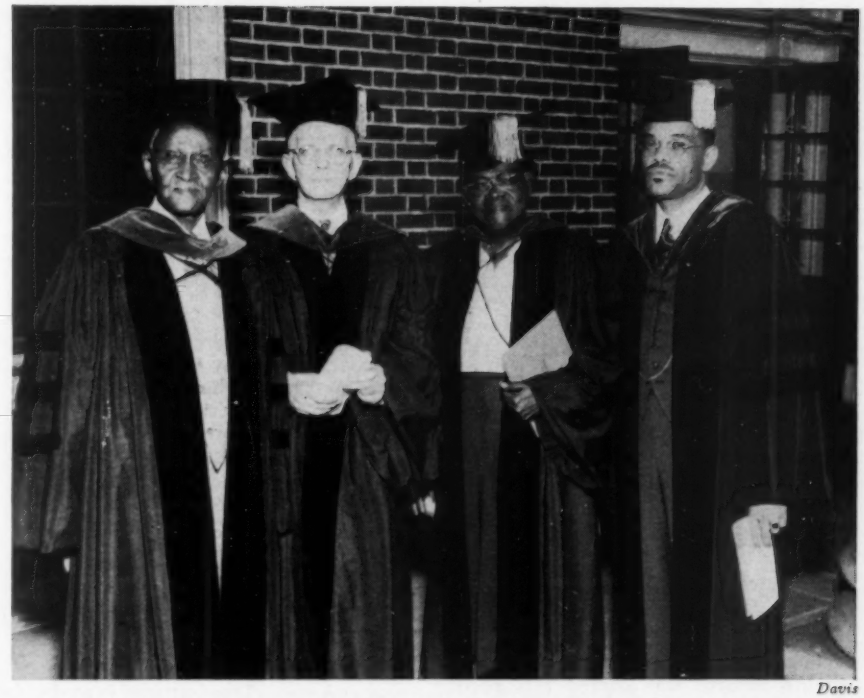
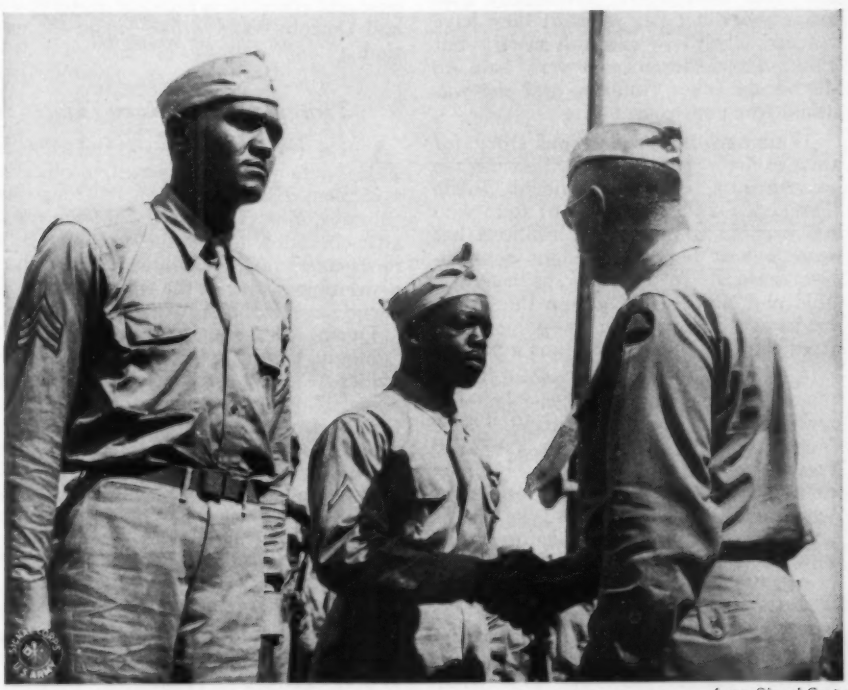


Davis

Left to right: Major R. R. Wright, who established the only Negro bank in Philadelphia, Pa.; Walter White, NAACP executive secretary and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of Bethune-Cookman college pose beside Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta university, after receiving LL.D. degrees at the recent school commencement

Thomas Photos

Top photo: E. Sterling Bills, who, as general commander of the membership campaign of the Kansas City (Mo.) branch, had charge of the drive. Lower photo: Mrs. Ester Williams, vice commander of the 1943 campaign in Kansas City



Army Signal Corps

Sgt. Hannibal Moore of Long Branch, N. J., and Pvt. Henry Jackson of Birmingham, Ala., receive Soldier's Medal for heroism from their commanding general, Brigadier General Raymond G. Lehman. Sgt. Moore saved one of his officers from drowning and Pvt. Jackson saved the life of a fellow soldier while on maneuvers with the Third Army in Louisiana

Philippa "Too Good" for Music Competition

Most consistent performer among America's child prodigies, 11-year-old Philippa Duke Schuyler, who has been regularly in the news since her twenty-eighth month, was barred this spring from further participation in the New York Philharmonic Symphony Society's notebook contests after winning eight first prizes, including two medals. According to Rudolf Ganz, conductor of the Philharmonic's children's concerts, Philippa is "too good" to compete with the other contestants. Ordinarily contestants are not barred until they have reached their seventeenth year, but Philippa's achievements were held to discourage other children, and she was asked to compete no more.

Winning prizes is an old story for this brilliant youngster. Entering the tournaments of the National Piano Teachers Guild at the age of four with ten original compositions, Philippa has won highest honors for eight consecutive seasons. In addition she has won gold and silver medals from the Music Education League, and a gold medal from the City of New York as a pianist.

Author of more than one hundred piano compositions, she was honored with a silver medallion at the 1939 New York World's Fair, and at the 1940 New York World's Fair a Philippa Schuyler Day was set aside for her at which she played two recitals of classic and original compositions before overflow audiences.

Since December 1933 she has been regularly featured in the press of the nation and such magazines as *Time* (three times), *Look, The New Yorker, Coronet, Calling All Girls, The Crisis, Opportunity* and others too numerous to mention, not only for musical achievement but for general intellectual accomplishment.

Tested psychologically by New York University yearly since the age of four, Philippa has consistently shown an IQ of 185. Last month she was given a freshman aptitude test at Manhattanville College and rated 25 per cent higher than the average freshman. She entered school in 1938 and graduated from grammar school in 1942 with an average of 97 in all studies. She has just completed her first year in high school. In the college textbook "Psychology and Life" by Floyd Ruch, she is cited as an example of superior intelligence.

Philippa has given numerous recitals for charity in many cities in all parts of the country. She has often played over the radio and television, and has been featured on such programs as "We, The People," "Hobby Lobby" and "Dr. Pepper." Her hobbies are reading, playing on her gymnasium with her girl friends and furnishing her doll's house.

Editorials

(*Continued from page* 199)

a second step. The first step is to decide that they must have full and complete equality. This Negro is not, it should be noted, the Negro of 1865, nor yet the Negro of 1917. The formulae in vogue in those times simply will not meet the situation in 1943, and the people who try to impose them are certain, at some time and place, to precipitate Beaumonts and Detroits—and worse—upon the nation.

Times Drops Race Tag

As a result of protests and conferences with high executive officers, accompanied by clippings from its columns, *The New York Times*, generally conceded to be the leading daily newspaper in the United States, has discontinued using the racial label in crime news involving Negroes.

During the recent wave of reports of "muggings" in Harlem, New York dailies featured prominently the word "Negro" in such crimes. The impression was created that Negroes were on the rampage and citizens were not safe on the streets of the city. In conferences with citizens committees *The Times* was shown police records indicating that crime among Negroes had not increased and this label was doing an injustice to the race. *The Times* promptly changed its policy. Other New York dailies which do not use the race tag in crime are, *The Post* and *PM*. The *World Telegram* apparently is using "Negro" only as a means of identification in the tail end of a crime story, and is not featuring it in headlines or leading sentences.

Mean Trick Denied

In The Crisis for April was printed an editorial entitled, "Meanest Trick," recounting an eye-witness report of discrimination against Negro service men in the railroad station at Rocky Mount, N. C.

We have receive a letter from I. D. Thorp, chairman of the Service Men's Organization of Rocky Mount, which declares:

"I have been chairman of this organization since its formation in December, 1941. This booth was opened in February, 1942. It is operated by volunteer donations from the people of Rocky Mount and the services are rendered by the organized white women of Rocky Mount; that is, different clubs, churches, guilds and other similar organizations take over the operation of the booth for various periods. The Service Men's Organization furnishes coffee, sugar and cream and pays the general expenses of the operation of the booth. The ladies in charge of the booth for a particular time furnish sandwiches, doughnuts, cakes, cigarettes, apples, candy and other refreshments. There is nothing for sale at this booth and everything is free to any member of the armed services, whether officer or enlisted men or women, white or colored, and the rules of this organization, and the practice of those in charge, is to make absolutely no distinction between any race or rating and this rule is not violated."

Our original informant states that on the night of November 13, 1942, he waited for a train in the Rocky Mount station from 11.25 p.m. until 3.30 a.m. and that during his wait he "did not see a Negro soldier approach this canteen . . . nor did I notice any of these patriotic women making an overt step to get to Negro soldiers on the jim-crow car to offer refreshments to them . . . every time a train went through . . . these gracious women went out to the train with coffee, doughnuts and cookies for our fighting men—our white fighting men."

The Crisis suggests to the well-intentioned people of Rocky Mount: (a) that no one can be certain that *all* the groups serving at the canteen observe the no-discrimination rule at all times; (b) that if the canteen is located in or near the "white" section of the railroad station that fact alone will deter Negro soldiers from seeking service; and (c) that the jim-crow car (what an irony to a soldier fighting for democracy) ought to be covered by the canteen ladies, and that by deed and word, without waiting for Negroes to make hesitant approaches, it should be made clear that the canteen serves all soldiers.

Since the publication of our editorial we have had word from several places, notably in the Southwest, that such ignoring of Negro troops passing through stations is the rule rather than the exception. Rocky Mount, whose letter indicates it wants to do the right thing, needs only to take positive action instead of contenting itself with passive goodwill.

Journalist Wins Book Award

Roi Ottley, distinguished Negro journalist, has been announced as the winner of the $2,500 award, given for books published in the Life-in-America series by Houghton Mifflin company.

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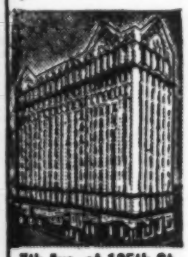

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2200 West Columbia Ave., Philadelphia
Telephone: Stevenson 6182

VIRGINIA
Martin A. Martin
Southern Aid Building, Danville
Telephone: 2475

College and School News

(*Continued from page* 196)

the last two years. Likewise in law, until the demand warrants establishment of a professional institution. In medicine, dentistry and nurse training, professional education will be made available to residents of Tennessee at Meharry Medical College at the same tuition rate charged at the University of Tennessee.

An Institute of Social Science under the direction of Dr. Ira De A. Reid, professor of sociology at **Atlanta University,** is a feature of the 1943 Atlanta University Summer School. Designed for ministers, teachers, school administrators and social workers, the Institute has mobilized a distinguished staff of lecturers. Baldwin W. Burroughs of the Spelman faculty is directing the Summer School of the Theater.

Atlanta University's 74th commencement was held May 29–31, with Dr. Channing H. Tobias and Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune were the speakers. Eighty-seven graduates were awarded degrees.

Delaware State College held its 51st commencement May 30–31, with W. W. Laird, president of the State Board of Welfare as speaker. Degrees were conferred upon 29 graduates.

Dr. Ralph P. Bridgman of Brooklyn, N. Y., delivered the commencement address at **Spelman College** on June 2, when 64 young women received bachelor of arts and bachelor of science degrees.

June 4 was commencement day at **Howard University.** Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, O., delivered the address, and 226 graduates received degrees.

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Zoot Riots

(*Continued from page* 201)

cheered. What could make the white people more happy than to see their uniformed sons sapping up some dark-skinned people? It proved beyond all doubt the bravery of white servicemen, their gallantry. Los Angeles was at last being made safe for white people—to do as they damned well pleased.

There will, of course, be repercussions — serious repercussions. The Mexican government has made representations. There are, of course, repercussions when a Negro is lynched.

"But, by God, it was worth it, wasn't it, Mr. Jones. By God, we put 'em in their place. I bet they'll think twice now before they jump on one of our boys . . . Oh yes, that's right, or molest one of our women . . ."

But the outcome is simply that the South has won Los Angeles.

Walled City

(*Continued from page* 206)

Prior to the passage of the Hampton bill, insurance companies were not allowed to take part in real estate operations of this type.

Liberal, labor, Negro and post-war planning organizations are greatly concerned over this action of the City of New York. It is felt that it will furnish a pattern for the nation, when, in the post-war world, planned housing will be carried on on a giant scale. Negroes especially are disquieted for fear of the freezing of the idea of racial segregation in public housing. They are dismayed because many have felt that one of the dividends of the war for the Four Freedoms would be not to strengthen but to lessen the patterns of segregation which have been set up in America.

The fight, however, is by no means ended. In spite of the fact that the Metropolitan Life Insurance company is a five billion dollar corporation which therefore wields untold strength, fair-minded citizens, both Negro and white, have pledged themselves to try in every way to defeat the erection of a lily white town within the City of New York.

Service Club Named for Dr. Carver

A service club for Negro troops, completely equipped with Negro hostesses, M.P.'s and a swing band, has been opened at a post in Australia and has been named the "Dr. Carver Club" in honor of the famous scientist.

READ! UNDERSTAND!

THE WAR FOR EMPIRE IN ASIA

Harry Paxton Howard

CRISIS last September, has written a sensational new book author of the sensational "Americans in Concentration Camps" in THE

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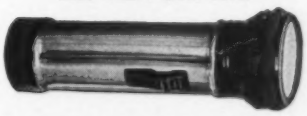

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